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## "PREPAREDNESS"

By HENRY W. LAWRENCE, Jr.

"THE EXAMINING surgeon said he didn't have a single white corpuscle left in his body. He was absolutely defenseless against the first disease that blew his way; so they sent him to the hospital."

"What kind of shape were you in?" I asked.

"They said I'd lost only about a third of my white army of defense and could safely do a moderate amount of work that was free from nerve strain."

With rare stupidity I inquired what there was about work in a military poison-gas laboratory to wear out a man's nerves. He showed very little surprise at my question, however. In the few weeks since he had been mustered out he had learned how densely ignorant the general public is regarding this major industry of future wars.

"I never worked in a T. N. T. factory," he said slowly, "but I'd a thousand times rather handle high explosives than these fumes from hell. Why, Doc, if I should tell you some of the things that new gas will do, some of the things I've seen it do, you'd swear it had affected my brain instead of my blood. While we were working in that laboratory, there wasn't a minute in the day when Death didn't peep out at us from every piece of apparatus we touched—not the good, old-fashioned kind of death that comes when a bayonet has gone through you or a bomb scattered you around, but a new and more fiendish kind, a super-kultur-efficiency sort of death, the supreme product of inhuman reason, and so unnecessarily thorough that you wondered how it happened to leave anybody alive.

"The Huns ought never to have begun that gas business," he continued, with rising patriotic pride. "They might have known that the Yanks could beat them at that kind of a game. Creative ingenuity is our long suit, and if they make us turn it toward war, so much the worse for them; and for war, too," he added suddenly. "My God, Doc, when I think what the next great war is going to be, even if our gas is the only new man-extermiator in it, I'm dead certain it will be the last, all right. There are some things that flesh and blood can't stand, if there happens to be any flesh and blood left after the first few months. We think we're so almighty smart, but we don't know that the Huns haven't got something worse up their sleeve. No, that can't be! Say, a man could soon go crazy thinking about that, if he'd ever worked at X——."

Then he looked at me in an embarrassed sort of way and added hastily, "Forget all I've said, won't you? My nerves aren't quite on the level yet, and I've no business to tell you anything about this stuff. Nobody has. Uncle Sam may need it some day, and he certainly don't want the enemy to get hold of it."

And not one word more would he say about it. He wouldn't even tell me the name of the place where the "stuff" was made; he just called it X—— and said that some day, when the proper time came, the whole experiment would be written up by the half dozen men who alone knew all about it.

The "proper time" means, I suppose, that elusive hour when all danger of war has been removed from the

world. Meanwhile the United States Government must guard its priceless secret—a gas seventy-two times more potent than the terrible "M. O."; a fuming liquid that eats men alive and triumphs over any mask or armor; a concoction to make Satan envious—to burn, to poison, to asphyxiate. Verily, the Kaiser quit in the nick of time, unless, perchance, he, too, was preparing some new triple extract of physical damnation.

## COST OF EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

By P. P. CLAXTON

U. S. Commissioner of Education and Member of Executive Committee of the American Peace Society

(This statement of the situation facing national educational interests and the relative expenditure of the people for the essentials and the luxuries of life is printed because of the intimate relation that exists between adequate education of the people and right action of the nation in shaping and supporting international policy.—EDITORS.)

DESPITE the low salaries of teachers and the meager and inadequate equipment of schools, many people believe the support of the public schools, elementary, secondary, and higher, to be our chief burden. This opinion seems to be very common about State legislatures and other tax-levying bodies. People otherwise well informed sometimes fall into this error. Recently a prominent professor in one of our great universities expressed the opinion that the support of the State universities was about to bankrupt some of the States. What are the facts? How do expenditures for the schools compare with other expenditures, public and private? The truth is public education is not a burden. Its cost is almost negligible when compared with other expenditures.

In 1918, the last year for which complete reports have been compiled, we spent in the United States for public education, elementary and secondary, \$762,259,154; for normal schools for the training of teachers, \$20,414,689; for higher education in colleges, universities, and professional and technical schools, whether supported by public taxation or privately endowed, \$137,055,415. The grand total was \$919,729,258. In the 50 years from 1870 to 1920, we paid for public elementary and high schools, \$12,457,484,563; for normal schools, \$291,111,232; for higher education in tax-supported and privately endowed colleges, universities, and technical schools, \$1,804,200,272—a total of \$14,552,796,037 for the 50 years.

For the years preceding 1870, two billions of dollars for public elementary and secondary schools, three millions for normal schools, and 150 millions for higher education would be very liberal estimates. Adding these to the totals given above will make a grand total of about \$14,500,000,000 for public elementary and secondary schools; \$295,000,000 for normal schools, and \$1,950,000,000 for higher education; approximately \$16,645,000,000 for public schools, elementary, secondary, normal schools, and higher education in schools of all kinds from the beginning of our history until 1920.

In all cases the figures include expenditures for buildings and equipment, repairs, heating, lighting, and other incidentals, as well as expenditures for teachers' salaries.

The total amount paid in salaries to teachers in public elementary and secondary schools in 1918 was only \$402,298,516. Salaries of teachers in private elementary and secondary schools, colleges, normal schools, universities, and technical schools amounted to approximately \$90,446,724, making a total of \$492,745,240.

#### Less than a Billion a Year

Making all due allowances for defective returns, the total amount spent for public education in 1918, including current expenditures for private and endowed colleges and universities, and all expenditures for capital investment in buildings and equipment, was less than one billion dollars. According to government returns for 1920, the people of the United States spent for luxuries in that year \$22,700,000,000; more than 22 times as much as they spent for education only two years before, and six billions, or 30 per cent, more than we have spent for public education in all our history.

Expenditures for luxuries in 1920 included, among other items:

For face-powder, cosmetics, perfumes, etc.....	\$750,000,000
Furs .....	300,000,000
Soft drinks.....	350,000,000
Toilet soaps.....	400,000,000
Cigarettes .....	800,000,000
Cigars .....	510,000,000
Tobacco and snuff.....	800,000,000
Jewelry .....	500,000,000
Luxurious service.....	3,000,000,000
Joy rides, pleasure resorts, and races.....	3,000,000,000
Chewing gum.....	50,000,000
Ice-cream .....	250,000,000
Food luxuries.....	5,000,000,000

#### More for Cosmetics than for Teachers

It is interesting to compare some of these items with the expenditures for education. The amount paid for face-powder, cosmetics, and perfumes is only \$12,000,000 less than the total amount expended for public, elementary, and secondary education in 1918, and within \$50,000,000 of twice the total amount of salaries paid teachers in public, elementary, and secondary schools.

The amount paid for jewelry is nearly \$100,000,000 more than the salaries of teachers in elementary and high schools in 1918, and is more than the total of productive funds of all endowed colleges and universities in that year.

The \$50,000,000 for chewing gum is  $2\frac{1}{2}$  times the total expenditures for normal schools and almost exactly the same as all State and city appropriations for higher education.

The \$300,000,000 paid for furs is more than twice the total cost of all higher education and the \$350,000,000 paid for soft drinks is more than  $2\frac{1}{2}$  times as much. It is more than the total value of college and university buildings, including dormitories, in 1918.

Strangely enough, the cost of toilet soaps in 1920 and the total salaries of elementary and secondary teachers in 1918 are almost exactly the same. But why should

soap be counted as a luxury? The cost of cigarettes in 1920 is twice as much as the salaries of teachers in elementary and high schools, nearly \$40,000,000 more than the total expenditures for elementary and secondary education, and almost the same as the total cost of elementary and secondary education, public and private, including capital investments in new buildings and equipment, and the cost of the heating and lighting of school-rooms, and all other expenses for upkeep.

#### Tobacco's Cost in 1 Year Equals Higher Education Cost in 273 Years

In 1920 we blew away in smoke of cigars and cigarettes \$300,000,000 more than the total cost of all education in 1918. The total cost for tobacco, in all its forms, in 1920, was five times the total of teachers' salaries in 1918 and almost exactly the same as the total cost for elementary and secondary education for the three years 1916, 1917, and 1918. If in some moment of high enthusiasm and patriotic devotion the people who use tobacco had agreed among themselves to smoke two cigarettes instead of three, two cigars instead of three, take two "chaws" instead of three, and two dips instead of three, and had paid to the support of the schools the money thus saved for the year, the salaries of teachers in schools of all grades, public and private, could have been increased by more than 120 per cent. For tobacco in its various forms we paid more than we have paid for higher education since the founding of Harvard College in Massachusetts and Williams and Mary in Virginia.

Luxurious service, whatever that may mean, for the single year cost more than the total paid for all public education for the four years from 1915 to 1918, inclusive, and 45 per cent more than higher education has ever cost us. In food luxuries we ate up in a single year more than the salaries of all school teachers for the first 18 years of this century.

So much for volunteer expenditures for things ordinarily called luxuries and not absolutely necessary.

#### Education Compared with Government's Receipts

It is equally interesting to compare the expenditures for education with other governmental receipts and expenditures. Receipts of the Federal Government from customs and internal revenues for 1920 were \$5,730,978,117. This is more than six times the amount expended for education in 1918, and more than one-third the estimated total expenditures for public education and all higher education from the beginning of our history until 1920. It is fully ten times the total of salaries of all teachers in all schools, public and private.

#### One-Fifteenth More Would Double Salaries

If to the income of the Federal Government be added the taxes collected by States, counties, and municipalities for other purposes than education, the total will be fully fifteen times as much as the total salaries of teachers of all public elementary and secondary schools, normal schools, colleges, universities, and technological and professional schools of all kinds. To double the salaries of all these teachers would require the addition of only \$1 in \$15 to the total of Federal, State, county, and municipal taxes. For every \$15 paid the average taxpayer would pay \$16, and after his receipts were put

away he would not know the difference. If nothing were paid teachers from public taxation the average taxpayer would still pay \$14 of the \$15 he now pays, and would not remember the difference after the tax receipts were put away.

The comparisons made above are for the country as a whole. For individual States the comparisons are sometimes even more striking.

In the 50 years from 1870 to 1920, the State of Connecticut paid for public elementary and secondary education \$182,500,000. The amount paid in 1918 was \$10,669,663. In 1920 the people of Connecticut paid into the Federal Treasury in direct taxes the sum of \$106,849,888—ten times as much as they paid for public elementary and secondary education in 1918, and nearly 60 per cent as much as they paid for public elementary and secondary education in the 50 years from 1870 to 1920.

#### Tax Bill Eight Times School Bill

Pennsylvania's direct Federal tax bill in 1920 was \$557,008,972, and its bill for elementary and high schools in 1918 was \$69,520,247. The tax bill was eight times as much as the school bill. Pennsylvania's bill for elementary and secondary education for the 50 years from 1870 to 1920 was \$1,191,000,000, only a little more than twice the direct Federal tax bill for one year.

Massachusetts has long held the leadership in public education, but its direct Federal tax bill for 1920 was more than ten times its school bill for 1918 and more than half its school bill for the 50 years from 1870 to 1920.

New York State and city have boasted in recent years of very large appropriations for education, but New York's direct Federal tax bill of \$1,418,332,651 in 1920 was more than twenty times as much as its school bill for 1918 and only \$145,000,000 less than its school bill for the 50 years from 1870 to 1920.

Delaware's direct Federal tax bill for 1920 was almost exactly the same as its school bill for the 100 years from 1820 to 1920.

Virginia's direct Federal tax bill of \$69,751,127 in 1920 was more than eight times its school bill for 1918 and was 47 per cent of its public-school bill for the 98 years from 1822 to 1920. This includes appropriations for higher education, for normal schools, and schools for the deaf, dumb, and blind.

Maryland's direct tax bill of \$81,452,867 in 1920 was thirteen times its education bill for 1918 and more than half its school bill for the 95 years from 1825 to 1920.

North Carolina's direct Federal tax bill of \$162,667,320 in 1920 was several million dollars more than its total expenditures for education, higher and lower, public and private, for the 250 years of its existence as colony and State.

To the direct Federal tax bills of the several States for 1920 as given here should be added their proportionate parts of the total of customs taxes of \$323,000,000.

#### Expense for Education Almost Negligible

These comparisons may be tedious, but they are instructive. These and other figures which might be easily determined show very clearly the contention in the first

part of this article, that, compared with other expenditures, public and private, expenditures for education are almost negligible.

We think we believe in education. We talk much about it, and many of us have believed that we pay much for it; that it in fact constitutes a very great burden, if, indeed, it is not our chief burden. No doubt we do believe in education in a way, but we have not paid and do not pay much for it. If this statement helps to dispel this illusion and to give some accurate information as to actual expenditures for education as compared with other expenditures it will serve its purpose.

## THE INTER-PARLIAMENTARY UNION

By CHR. L. LANGE

Secretary of the Union

The Inter-Parliamentary Union was founded in Paris during the World's Fair of 1889. It was first called the "Inter-Parliamentary Union for International Arbitration." In 1899 the last words were dropped, but the advancement of international arbitration and of a judicial solution of disputes between nations has always remained its principal objects. The first article of its statutes, as at present in force, thus defines its purpose:

Art. I. "The Inter-Parliamentary Union has for its aims the uniting in common action the members of all parliaments constituted in national groups, in order to bring about the acceptance in their respective countries, either by legislation or by international treaties, of the principle that differences between nations should be settled by arbitration or in other ways either amicable or judicial. It likewise has for its aim the study of other questions of international law and in general of all problems relating to the development of peaceful relations between nations."

The Union has had a decisive influence on the calling of the two peace conferences at The Hague in 1899 and in 1907. The meeting of the latter was directly caused by a request to President Roosevelt from the Inter-Parliamentary Conference, sitting at St. Louis, in 1904. The statute of the Court of Arbitration at The Hague, adopted by the former of these conferences, was chiefly based on a draft voted by the Inter-Parliamentary Conference at Brussels in 1895, and the most famous debates before the Second Hague Conference, in 1907, were almost exclusively concerned with a draft model treaty of arbitration elaborated by the London Conference of the Union in 1906. It should be added that the statute of an international court of justice adopted by the recent Assembly of the League of Nations, to a great extent, is based on a draft elaborated immediately before the war by a special committee instituted within the Union. This draft was before the International Committee of Jurists, which, at the invitation of the League of Nations, sat at The Hague in the summer of 1920 and of which Mr. Elihu Root was a prominent member.

While these judicial problems have been the chief concern of the Union, its conferences have also discussed other international questions, notably those of a reduction of armaments and of the closely connected question of the immunity of private property at sea during war.

Besides, through its national groups, the Union has vigorously pushed toward the ratification of the different conventions issued from international conferences.